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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

In a recent number of "The Public," Mr. Louis F. Post explains the conversion of Mr. George A. Schilling to the single tax. It was merely a question of evolution. He advanced through State Socialism to Anarchism and then advanced from Anarchism to the single tax. Queer evolution, that,—to progress from compulsory taxation to voluntary taxation and then from that to compulsory taxation!

Advocates of the denial of the right of women to do any kind of work they please must be in the last ditch when the best argument that they can bring against women stenographers is that, as court reporters, they are obliged to transcribe a great deal of testimony in a great many cases which they ought not to be permitted even to hear. It is one William B. Wright who has delivered himself of this lofty sentiment, and it is needless to add that he is a stenographer. However, it would be ungracious to insinuate that it is his fear of being crowded out of his profession that prompts his fatherly solicitude for the moral welfare of his female competitors. On the other hand, it is unfortunate that we have no equally concise expression of his opinion upon the propriety of the employment of women as chambermaids and laundresses.

Great consternation has recently been created at the town of Kultchuk, on the Black sea, by men and women from Odessa who have bathed together in the surf. Such a terrible thing had never happened before in that prim and pious place, but it at once became popular. The local priest has been forced to resort to severe measures. He wades out into the water and curses the sea. Then, with the *naïveté* of a man who knows that his whole attitude is farcical and that everybody else knows it, he commands the waves to overwhelm the unchristian men and women, "whose conduct makes the fishes blush." But the mixed bathing goes on. The priest, however, is equal to the occasion, and, in the language of the cablegram, "offers to marry *gratis* youths and maidens who have already lost their reputations by bathing together." But what does he propose to do about those who are already married and who may have bathed with persons not their conjugal partners? Perhaps marriage makes people impeccable on the shores of the Black sea; otherwise, nothing short of polygamy and polyandry would solve the priest's problem. If his reverence could offer some specific to those who have lost their reputations by marrying, he might become popular in this country.

Thinking people are gradually finding out that free public libraries are not an unmixed blessing. Books that circulate among all sorts of people are, it has been discovered, the most extensive conveyors of the germs of contagious diseases, and therefore seriously menace the public health. Possibly this disadvantage could be successfully overcome by a thorough fumigation of the books immediately upon their return to the library. But, if so, there still remains the broader and deeper question of its ethical justification. It is simply another phase of the problem of State education, the issue at bottom being compulsory taxation, itself a violation of equal freedom. The strongest excuse (though not even then a valid one) for compulsory taxation is that there are certain public works and services by which all citizens are benefited and of which all citizens must partake, and that the citizen must therefore be forced to contribute toward their maintenance. Undoubtedly this excuse is the chief bulwark behind which legal robbery is entrenched. But certainly State education and free public libraries are not things which the citizen cannot avoid using, and therefore they should be among the first of the incubi from which the people must be relieved. Leave the field open to Carnegie, who must be pleased to supply "popular" fiction and the yellow magazines to the public.

Though Nietzsche is dead, he has evidently left an influence behind him in Germany. More than one marked instance has transpired wherein the ideas of the great egoist philosopher have been more or less exemplified, but the latest to come to hand is a play written by Hermann Baar and called "Der Meister." It is true that Nietzsche himself would never have set the stamp of his approval upon all parts of this play, because there are some lapses from logic and some situations that are absurd from an egoistic point of view. But the overman, "the master," is treated in a bold and original way; and the subject is, perhaps, also treated in as nearly a philosophic manner as the relations of a man to a wife who has fallen in love with another man and has been wantonly unfaithful to her husband can be. Doubtless the play would have been tame without some exhibitions of jealousy on the part of the "wronged" husband, but his "injuries" are far from fatal, and he doesn't permit the episode materially to disturb his scientific labors. He offers to "forgive" his wife's offence, and tentatively opens the way for a *ménage à trois;* but the wife drops into heroics, refuses to be "forgiven," and, in a stormy scene, leaves home. The play, like the author's previous piece, "Der Staar," has been successful, both in Germany and Russia. It is clearly a problem play, and has in it many resemblances to some of Ibsen's dramas.

The mouth-piece of the elect has lately (and with some excuse) entered his protest against the prevailing desire of almost everybody to wear clothing in which it would be impossible comfortably or easily to perform manual labor,—clothing which is in itself evidence that the wearer does not work at any productive occupation. In so far as this desire exhibits a contempt for physical labor and for the man who performs it, it is reprehensible and should be discouraged. Everyone knows, if he stops to think, that, if the farmer and street sweeper threw up their jobs, we should soon be obliged to do that work ourselves, even if we did thereby soil our cuffs. But, even so, let us hope that we should not have to spend more than a fair share of each day at such toil; and it is not so obvious to a man with short hair that a desire to be clean and wear clean clothes for another part of the day is an evidence of snobbery. If building a sewer is a noble occupation, it ought not to unfit the follower of that vocation for the enjoyment of good music; would the advocate of soft shirts have him go to a concert with the filth of the sewer upon his person and clothing? Would he have our honest toiler go to bed without removing his clothing or taking a bath? It is certainly creditable to a person to do useful though dirty work; but it does not follow that the unpleasant evidences of such labor must be carried into every department of the laborer's life. Let him put on a boiled shirt and stiff collar on Sunday if he enjoys it,—the professional idlers will never mistake him for one of them, and his compatriots will not be deceived. Besides, has it never occurred to our righteously indignant denouncer of snobs that, so long as we are practically obliged to wear unwashable coats, washable collars and cuffs serve some useful purpose? By all means let us not be afraid of work,—good, honest, hard work, that sometimes soils our clothes; but let us not mistake cleanliness for uselessness.

The Purity of Jabez.

[Life.]

Said the Rev. Jabez McCotton,
"The waltz of the Devil's begotten!"
Said Jones to Miss Bly,
"Never mind the old guy,—
To the pure almost everything's rotten."

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the excisman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Bobrikoff and Colorado.

Not for many years has the murder of a ruler or government official called forth from the civilized world so little condemnation of the act as has the assassination of the governor-general of Finland. The leading papers of America and Europe (outside of Russia) have condoned and excused the act, some of them stopping little short of open approval of it. A few editors, who have enough reasoning power to enable them to see that, if tyrannicide is legitimate abroad, it may be at home, have rebuked this spontaneous outburst of what is almost public laudation of murder. Prominent among the logical newspapers is the London "Saturday Review," an extract from whose columns is printed on another page. That paper points out with unerring clearness the futility of such murders, even from the point of view of the victims of the tyrants. It further touches upon the other important point raised by Bobrikoff's assassination and the public rejoicing over it. The question resolves itself into this: If it is justifiable to murder tyrants, who is to decide who are the tyrants? If it was for Schaumann to decide in Finland, why was it not for Booth and Czolgosz to decide in the United States? Both of these latter believed they were killing tyrants, and certainly they had as much right to their opinion as Schaumann had to his. The only reason why the latter is lauded as a hero and the others condemned as criminals is because, in the one case, public opinion the world over is very largely with the assassin, while in the other cases it was against him. But just here is where American newspapers let their perceptions be obscured by prejudice. If the question is to be treated logically, the conclusion must be that, as soon as any official in the United States is considered by the majority of the people to be a tyrant, his summary "removal" becomes legitimate and desirable. Are the American defenders of tyrannicide in Finland willing to accept this conclusion? If not, they would show wisdom as well as consistency by restraining their exultation over the following paragraphs, which are the expressions of three leading Vienna journals, and which have been reproduced with much show of satisfaction by many English and American papers:

If the czar does not see after this patriotic act of a noble Finn that holy Russia is on the wrong path, a series of defeats on the battlefield will bring the lesson home to him.

Governor Bobrikoff has fallen a victim to the patriotic indignation of a people.

It is not murder; it is simply the removal of the hangman of a whole nation.

And the following from an editorial in the New York "Times" is a sample of the matter-of-course way in which the occurrence is commented upon in this country:

General Bobrikoff has at last met the fate he has been inviting ever since he became governor of Finland.

Although thousands of miles away, Finland presents some problems that are not altogether without parallel in our own State of Colorado. Attention need only be called to the dissenting opinion (printed elsewhere in this issue) of Justice Steele, of the Colorado supreme court, in the Moyer case to show that there is considerable truth in the assertion that the governor of Colorado, like the late governor-general of Finland, is a tyrant. In addition to this, we have the opinions of many prominent newspapers in the United States that Governor Peabody (again like Bobrikoff) has deprived people of liberty without due process of law, and has otherwise violated the constitution. There is an abundance of belief in this country that Peabody has illegitimately assumed arbitrary power. Does this constitute tyranny? If so, are those newspapers and those people who, in spite of their general adhesion to the monopolistic *régime*, are condemning the acts of Colorado's governor and his military officials willing to admit that, when their number reaches (if it has not already reached) a majority of the people of the country, the governor's assassination would be justifiable? And are they willing to assume the responsibility for the possible act of some misguided victim of Colorado tyranny who may decide that it is his "patriotic" duty to slay Governor Peabody? If not, then where is their logic and where is the consistency between their approval of tyrannicide in Finland and their disapproval of it in Colorado?

After the ill-concealed joy of the American press at the assassination of Bobrikoff, to print such editorial expressions as the following paragraphs from the New York "Times" is little less than pointing out to incipient revolutionists where to strike the next blow:

It is noticeable that, while the reformers in Cripple Creek complain of unjust treatment by the eastern press, they do not go into details, and especially that they do not deny the accuracy of the accounts of their doings that have been printed in this part of the country. Warned by the president of the New York Citizens' Alliance that public sentiment here is inclined to see little difference between the lawlessness of a union man and that of a foe of unions—a very mild statement of the situation—the present rulers of the Colorado roost only expatiate on the greatness of their provocation. That explains extremely well, but as an excuse it is not altogether successful. And while the reformers are right in stating that order cannot be maintained under incompetent and culpable officials, they are slightly mistaken in their implication that it is order when officials of any kind are persuaded to resign by shaking noosed ropes in their faces.

Upholders of law and order continue to act in a curiously illegal and disorderly manner out in Colorado, for they still are forcibly deporting from Victor men against whom no definite charges are made, and the task of finding excuses for such a policy, hard enough when it seemed to be an expedient for meeting a desperate emergency, becomes impossible when the emergency is past and active opposition to the constituted authorities has ceased. The vigilance committee that perpetuates itself beyond the period of absolute necessity loses all justification and becomes the mere successor of the *régime* it destroyed. There is no revolution in Colorado now, unless it is the revolution of the reformers, and they seem to be in more than small danger of exemplifying the faults they condemned.

It is to be hoped that there will be no more bloodshed in Colorado; but, if there should be some over-strenuous "patriot" unwise enough to kill Governor Peabody, surely the latter's blood will be principally upon the heads of those who have condoned the killing of Bobrikoff.

Even now, after the democratic national platform has denounced the Colorado usurpation, it is difficult to get an unbiased statement of the facts of the whole disturbance; but undoubtedly there are two sides to the question, as there are to most questions. Both sides allege provocation, but it remains to be determined who took the initiative in the provoking business. There are many points of similarity between this and the Chicago affair, now seventeen years gone, especially as an explosion, killing a number of people, has been charged against persons to whose manifest interest it was not to do such a thing. The most rational explanation is that the explosion was caused (or instigated) by the party which it could help. The only party that it could help it did help. No other result was possible. The most stupid man in Colorado could have known that in advance. And the result? Gubernational and military usurpation made supreme and secure—likewise the monopolies which it protects. The Governor, the military, and the Rockefeller "alliance" desired that martial law be maintained and that they have the provocation and the power to exile a number of inoffensive but to them undesirable citizens. They have obtained what they wanted. The explosion gave it to them. Who is responsible for the explosion? The question answers itself.

C. L. S.

Beginning Anarchy Now.

Some months ago I started to write a short series of articles on Anarchist tactics. Other topics interrupted it. Let me get back to it.

There can be few things more useful to our cause than that men should live by its principles. In the first place, there is nothing like practice for producing belief, whether in one's self or in his neighbors. In the second place, there is nothing like practice for giving a correct understanding. In the third place, whenever the time comes for giving general effect to our ideas, and we begin to live under the new conditions and to make the mistakes that are natural to beginners and to see Anarchism getting discredited by the mistakes that are associated with its realization, it will then be of the highest importance that there be as many as possible who have had, in advance, such experience of Anarchic life as has been possible.

And, finally, it seems as if it must be pleasanter for us to live as citizens of the society we desire, subjugated by an alien conqueror, following his fashions as much as we must and our own as much as we may while we hope and plan for liberation, rather than as citizens of a society which we hate and desire to destroy.

What, then, will be a reasonable life under the domination of government, for an Anarchist patriotically loyal to his free society in embryo?

He will avoid governing. He will not accept the office of sheriff; he will not protect his licensed business by prosecuting the unlicensed competitor in the next block; he will not, as a striker, call in the anti-trust law against his employer. The reasons against doing these things hereafter are reasons against doing them now, and have no validity for the future that they have not for the present. The argument that the world is now run on a basis of violence and dishonesty, and therefore one must take care of himself by being as unscrupulous as the rest in order not to be trodden under foot, is a compound falsehood. The premise is easily exaggerated, and in practice is pretty sure to be exaggerated as soon as one undertakes to give effect to the conclusion; the connection between the premise and the conclusion is fallacious; and, as experience proves, the usual result of the conclusion is that the man who uses this argument becomes a worse rascal than those whom he set out to equal, and is consequently an especially pernicious factor in making the general situation worse.

It is a different case when governmental methods are used in a purely defensive way against an aggressor. The anti-trust law is like a club: its use in general is anti-social, but when a man comes at you with a club it is hard to set limits to your dangerous liberty of hitting back. So, in what I said just now about strikers, it is to be assumed that the employer in question has not got out an injunction against the paying of strike benefits. But, if you say that the social order gives the employer a general unfair advantage, and that this employer as a republican voter is responsible for the social order; therefore it is all right to apply the anti-trust law to him,—then you fall back into the fallacy I spoke of just now.

The government of children is a special point. It is quite possible for a man to hold, with Proudhon, that the principle of government is sound as between parent and child, but unsound as between adults. But I am glad that this view has so little support among us; I believe that the increasing (and profitable) disposition not to whip the child will be one of the foremost agencies, if not the foremost of all, in bringing in the disposition not to club the man.

Our Anarchist will disregard the laws of the State, so far as they are not forced upon him: he will do what he thinks best, no matter whether it is legal or illegal, as far as his fear of prosecution permits—and, on the average, a little bit farther. But this has been spoken of at length already, both by me and by others.

He will disfellowship the State in thought and language. He will not feel or talk as if he and his had won or lost a battle when it is the United States that has won or lost. He will not speak of the government's doings with a first person plural pronoun, but with a third person. He will not talk of "our" troops in the Philippines, though he may speak of "our government" in the same sense as he speaks of "our climate," "our mosquitoes," "our tramps." This is harder that it looks, but it is useful. It is all right that he should sympathize with the the United States in an international dispute in the same way as he may perhaps sympathize with Japan against Russia, but he should throw up his hat for them as a looker-on and not as a member. He will discriminate between nations and States as do the best text-books of international law. He will not say "nation" when he means "government" or "union," nor "national" when he means "governmental" or "federal." He will use the word "Germany" in its historic sense, and therefore will not let the deceased Bismarck put it into his wooden head that the desired unification of Germany has been accomplished by the founding of the present German Empire, leaving Austria and some other parts of Germany out in the cold. He will not let the States marked on the map go as a list of the nations of the earth. Nor will he admit that the claim of Brazil to rule over all that is on the map of Brazil amounts to any more than the claim of the king of Spain (isn't it?) to be also king of Jerusalem, till Brazil conquers and administers the territory.

He will boycott the government when he can. He will prefer not to hold a government office and draw his pay from stolen money. He will employ the express rather than the post-office when the expense and the convenience are the same. But an all-around boycott of the government is doubtless as impossible as an absolute disregard of the government's laws.

When he sees a thing to be done, he will try to get it done without the government's help. Here is a difficult point, but one of cardinal importance. It is a weak point of ours at present. They ask us, "What substitute will you put in the place of government?" and we answer, "What substitute would you give a man for a disease when you cured him of it?" which is apt to seem to our critics more epigrammatic than convincing. Reformers of the Riis type scoff at "scientific" sociologists who oppose the positive action demanded by the Riises. "The science of doing nothing!" they cry; and we are among those who get hit by the sarcasm. Anarchism, as the first syllable of the name reminds us, is a doctrine of "thou shalt not," like the ten commandments. Now doubtless the ten commandments are the most respectable set of rules that any nation of men ever professed to take for the actual and literal guidance of their life; and doubtless some of these "thou shalt nots" are the only foundation on which a stable and satisfactory social order can ever be built; if you begin a scheme of works of utility without respecting these negatives, you are simply building up what it will soon be urgently necessary to pull down again for safety's sake. Nevertheless, gentlemen, a superstructure without a foundation is a more comfortable house than a foundation without a superstructure; and a society in which work is being done, regardless of invasion, is likely to be better to live in than one in which the people are refraining from work for fear of being invasive. I do not at all fear that an Anarchistic society would be of the latter type; but I don't much blame the world for getting that notion. Our attitude in public affairs is purely that of obstructionists. This is a cheap, conspicuously cheap, attitude. Everybody knows that it is easy to sit back and refuse to help, and find fault with those who are at work; and, however just the fault-finding and however sound the reasons for disapproving the work, there will be no general impulse to respect those who are doing nothing but this. The world will overlook our being eccentrics, extremists, doctrinaries, Utopians; it will not pardon our being inactive talkers.

There is a great future for the man who will set the Anarchists to work as such. An energetic push for the actual establishment of a private currency, or a private post-office, or even a large and successful smuggling agency, would put a wholly new face on our propaganda. But it is not only in defying or evading legal restrictions on commerce that there ought to be opportunities. Because government is such a big, overgrown, complicated mass, we do want "substitutes for government" in many respects. We shall still want not only mails, but a census, weather reports, and lots of other things that the government is now furnishing. We shall still want boards of health. Doubtless "care for the public health is the favorite excuse just now for tyranny." A favorite excuse for tyranny is likely to be something useful; for useless things do not serve well as excuses. The purity of the milk supply, the plumbing of tenements, the adequacy of fire-escapes in hotels,—these are things that it pays to have somebody in the middle to look after; it does not pay to leave it to each individual to look out separately for his own safety, nor to leave it to the self-interest of the trader in a commercial society, or to the carefulness and intelligence of the producers in a communistic society. Now do not go off with the notion that I want to give somebody the powers of the present boards of health. I am talking Anarchism. Within the sphere of purely voluntary action there is a great field for the kind of work I speak of. The work has been so largely left to government that the possibilities of non-governmental action in these lines have not been explored. And public utilities of this sort ought to offer a fine field for Anarchist activity, because some of them are being omitted by the government, others are being done miserably, and none are being done without the characteristic inelasticity which hobbles all governmental action. We ought to be able to step in while the governmentalists are waiting to get an act through the legislature; we should go right to work, put ourselves in the lead, get these Riises—whose only care is to see something done—to help us, and have the laugh on the public authorities who were practising "the science of doing nothing."

It sounds very nice. But, as I said, it is a point of the greatest difficulty. We start such a work, we get into the work a number who are not Anarchists, and at once they make haste to utilize all the fruits of our work as a means to get more legislation passed and more govern-

mental boards appointed; for there is sure to be some point of detail that we are accomplishing only slowly, which they will think can be put through with a rush by such a board. Even if we could exclude from the work all but the faithful, these people would take the information we published and use it for such purposes, and put our powder into the enemy's guns till we were disgusted enough to quit.

I have seen no way to get around these difficulties. I am in the cheap position that I described a little while ago, criticising others' failure to do great things while I am doing nothing in this line myself. Nevertheless I believe this to be an especially fruitful field for Anarchistic activity, if the key to the problem can be found. There is surely a key.

To displace the government from its useful functions by doing these things better, is surely very nearly the ideal way of establishing Anarchy. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Another Immigration Outrage.

It will be remembered that, some years ago, a man and woman of liberal ideas arrived in New York from Liverpool. In some way or other the immigration inspectors learned that these people did not believe in marriage, had been living together without being married, and purposed to continue that relation in this country. This so affected the immigration authorities that they ordered the couple to get married before landing, or else be deported. They chose the latter alternative and were taken back to Liverpool.

Little attention was paid to the matter outside the radical press, and it is recalled now, perhaps, only by the fact that these same officials have again exercised a similar sort of authority in the case of a man and woman from Europe who recently reached these shores, having met and become engaged to be married on the voyage. They intended to have the ceremony performed as soon as they landed, but the immigration boarding officer decided that the woman could not land until she became the wife of her lover. The latter was permitted to go ashore and secure a license and a clergyman, which could not be done until the next day.

No great outcry has been made about this, because the victims were as anxious to marry as was the immigration officer to have them do so. But the outrageousness of this arbitrary action of the bureau of immigration is apparent if one considers what the situation would have been if the parties had not wished to marry. The woman was not a pauper or a disbeliever in government, and was for no other reason liable to be denied admission to the country. No offense was alleged against her, except that she was engaged to be married. And why was not this an equally heinous crime on the part of the man?

The bureau of immigration certainly owes the public an explanation and it might be well for it to specify just what conditions it intends to impose upon men and women coming to this country. If no women engaged to be married are to be allowed to land, the bureau should issue an order at once to the transatlantic steamship companies to accept passengers of only one sex on each voyage. And even that might not offer a solution.

In the meantime, it is becoming more and more evident that the immigration office is about as stupidly conducted as any institution could be which is not actually in charge of imbeciles and idiots. C. L. S.

From the "Renaissance" publishing house at Schmargendorf, Berlin, comes a little forty-one page pamphlet, "Free Marriage," by Jaques Meslin, translated from the French into German by Karl Federn. The author modestly avows that the scope of a short brochure will allow time to consider briefly only one phase of an exceedingly complicated problem. This is well, for he contents himself with a short inquiry into the nature of civil and religious marriage, and a seathing criticism of the French *bourgeois* system of education and marriage. As the student of philosophical Anarchism is well aware of the true inwardness of civil marriage, and as even the conservative American has little use for the French *bourgeois* variety, Monsieur Meslin's inquiry, although well enough as far as it goes, has little in it to satisfy any educational needs that we may have on this side of the water. The American ideal, however often we may fall short of this ideal, is after all a marriage based on mutual love and esteem, even among the *bourgeois*. And the American girl is not a sacrificial lamb led to the altar by designing parents, but enters the marriage relation on her own free will, if not always with open eyes. It is to be regretted that Monsieur Meslin devotes but a few short pages to the constructive side of his subject. That the union between man and woman should be based on love and should dispense with the priestly and magisterial sanction, seems to him a sufficient guaranty of freedom and happiness. Education through example, therefore, is his solution of the problem, and he charges all free men and women to defy law and custom and to openly enter into free unions. Thus he plunges us into the midst of the problem to flounder about as best we may and to work out our own salvation. Monsieur Meslin has yet to learn that free unions, although based on sincerest love, can be, and generally are, old-time marriages in everything but outward form, and bear in them the germs of as much unhappiness and as much real slavery as any orthodox marriage. It is not so much freedom of form that we stand in direct need of, as thoroughly free individuals,—men and women who are organically free in thought and feeling. Love will be free when men and women are not only negatively but actually free; when they can feel and act free, when they have lost the sense of guilt.

Dr. W. A. Chapple, of New Zealand, has written a remarkable book. It is called "The Fertility of the Unfit" and will probably be suppressed by Comstock as soon as it is publicly sold in this country. It is remarkable in that it goes a little further in its drastic propositions for the limitation of the production of imperfect specimens of humanity than anyone else has hitherto had the temerity to go; while at the same time it evinces almost as strenuous an anxiety for the more rapid reproduction of the fit. New Zealand is a great country for reforms, and doubtless tubo-ligature will soon be as common an operation there as the removal of the vermiform appendix now is in this country. More than that, if Dr. Chapple is to have his way, the State will have the matter in hand, and all women who are themselves condemned by the government board of stirpiculture, or who are the wives of men who have been so condemned, will be forced to submit to the treatment. This has all been very fully outlined by the author, and to him it appears exceedingly simple. It will be seen, moreover, that, differing from similar propositions advanced in the past, his plan lets the man, whether fit or unfit, go without molestation. This would seem to open the way for the failure of the scheme, but perhaps Dr. Chapple knows what he is talking about,—perhaps conditions are different in New Zealand from what they are in all other parts of the world. But, if, perchance, there should be some of the original traces of human nature still extant in that highly reformed community, how is the board of stirpiculture going to know,—that is,—but, there! Of course New Zealand, being so highly State-Socialized, is a strictly and faithfully monogamic country.

President Schurman, of Cornell University, has been so disturbed by the obvious tendency of people nowadays to refrain from indulging in matrimony that he has been impelled to make an ass of himself. Said he, recently: "I have no patience with the college graduates who deliberately elect bachelorhood, whose social circle is the club and whose religion is a refined and fastidious epicureanism. It would not be worth while maintaining colleges and universities for the production of froth like that." If the "froth" pays for its education, what business is it of Schurman's whether it marries or not? If he should succeed in having a marriage certificate appended to every college diploma, he would soon find himself without a job.

It is proposed in Boston to make it illegal for the end-seat man in the open street car to refuse to give up his seat to a later comer. There is sense in this only upon the assumption that the person who gets on first will get off last. It is just as inconvenient to crowd by another person in leaving the car as it is in entering. If, under the proposed Boston ordinance, a man really wishes the end seat, what is to hinder him, after being obliged to push along, from dismounting, and then, remounting, claiming the end seat?

To Explain the Smoot Delay.

[Atlanta Constitution.]

No, gentle reader, the Reed Smoot matter will not be definitely acted upon until after the presidential election. In the meantime, however, the administration will find a quiet way to assure the republican majority in Utah that it does not propose to "run amuck" on account of Mormonism.

Human Intelligence Improving.

[Puck.]

Once upon a time a dog came upon a man eating what he liked, regardless.

"His intelligence is almost canine!" exclaimed the dog, glowing.

Law Is That Law Does.

To the Editor of Liberty:

Conforming to popular conceptions is not always the way to escape confusion of terms—still less, to escape confusion of thought. When people associate the term "law" altogether with the edicts of government, the next thing is that they fancy that laws originate from government and that, if there is no more government, there will be no more laws. Then, on the one hand, those who want to save some laws get scared at the thought of giving up government, because they think all law is lost; and, on the other hand, those who want to get rid of laws flatter themselves that, if they can only disband the State and keep it disbanded, their purpose will be attained without further trouble. Thus the anticipation of a new state of society ceases to have to do with practical facts. Handsome is that handsome does, says the proverb. Money is that money does, says Francis A. Walker. Similarly, law is that law does. There is no practical difference between the State's laws and the laws that the State has nothing to do with; and there is no practicable isolation of laws enforced by violence from laws not so enforced, except by some treatment directed not at the law but at its enforcement. To help in seeing this state of facts, and to break up that confusion which ascribes solely to the laws of the State that which is equally true of laws outside the State, I thought it useful to give the same name to everything that is essentially the same thing, just as we Anarchists are in the habit of doing with the names "government," "murder," etc.

Besides, popular usage is not so stiff after all. When we entitle a man Doctor of "Laws" in the plural, we mean that he is doctor of one other kind besides government law; and we have government laws which are not enforceable by any judicial or executive process—for instance, according to Cooley's "Principles of Constitutional Law," the law forbidding a member of congress to vote for a tax on State bank notes if the purpose of the tax is to abolish the State bank notes, or the law commanding the governor of any State to obey a regular order of extradition coming in under ordinary circumstances from another State. I think most people, when they have occasion to speak of nations whose social order is quite different from ours, recognize law as law—recognize that the presence of law is not one of the points of difference from us—whether the law is enforced by what corresponds most nearly to our State or not.

People meet unpopular statutes by passive resistance rather than by force because avowed forcible resistance to the State is regarded as hopeless. But forcible resistance to lynch law is not in all cases regarded as hopeless; and, if some think passive resistance the preferable way of meeting lynch law, others don't, and will use force when they hope to win. There is not any such general instinctive feeling of the superiority of passive resistance as would lead *everybody*—not merely many—to refrain from using force if they thought force could win. And if we are to refrain from using force against any lynchers (who may not have at their back in any sense whatever more than a minority of the people), what will a defensive association, if it exists, be doing meanwhile? A defensive association that refused to defend people against whitecapping would surely be making itself ridiculous.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

The Position of Saturday.

Robinson Crusoe was forced by stress of circumstances to live on his island. Only that he was fortunate enough to catch Friday, he would probably have perished. I have voluntarily retired to a similar island, but, profiting by his experience, have taken along with me a man Saturday. He's my working man, and in our little world I represent the universal Employer, and he the universal Worker.

Before our retirement to Isola, this chap Saturday belonged to that peculiar religio-economic cult called "single tax," a sort of fetish worshipers who believed that land should be made free, so I had to humor him in this (for, like all his cult, he was very stubborn), and concede that rent should be abolished in our community; or, rather, that it should go into a special fund to be applied to the "maintenance of government economically administered," as he grandiloquently phrased it.

Pish! This "economic rent" is only a nominal thing with us, anyway, because our government is a very frugal one, very simple, and strictly honest.

Saturday is a very expert workman, can do all sorts of useful things well, and can produce in great abundance; in fact, vastly in excess of our united needs for consumption. I, having no training in such matters, can do very little in that line.

But, as both of us desired to live in a highly civilized state of society, because that is best for all, we readily came to an arrangement by which I conduct the transportation, the exchanging, the banking, etc., of our little community, while he does the work. This was easily agreed to between us as the rational thing to do, in view of our respective capabilities, and in view of the important fact that, in going into our retirement, I brought with me from my worldly store of possessions many things which were useful and needful to our civilized existence.—*i. e.*, a complete assortment of mechanical tools, a store of provender, clothing, etc., and particularly $1,000.00 in sound money, which was more than ample for our needs, being $500.00 *per capita*,—more than any of the *per capita* fetich worshipers (another worldly cult) ever dreamt of in their philosophy. Of course we mutually agreed, and so voted, being impelled thereto by our mutual common sense, in view of our different capacities and abilities, that I should administer the governmental functions of our community, whilst Saturday employs himself with the industrial functions.

And so I *hire* Saturday, sometimes to work for me, and, when by his efforts he has produced a glut in the market, I hire him to work for the government, building roads and other public improvements, and thereby I manage to keep him pretty constantly employed and satisfied. This, I think, is a great improvement on the old worldly way, and conduces to the tranquillity of our (may I say?) country.

Of course, when I pay him his union wages in either case, I buy therewith his product, and become the owner of it. My plan is to keep of this product what I need for my own immediate use, for contingencies and seed for reproduction, selling back to Saturday a small part of it for his own use, and taking back in payment the wages I have paid him for the original total production, and putting the surplus into the form of fixed capital in the shape of a mansion for myself, a fine city hall, public parks, roads, water works, etc., all of which he has built from time to time (and others similar to which he will build in the future), but which I own or control. Saturday lives in a comparatively modest dwelling, but it is the best I can permit him to acquire out of his wages and do justice to myself in recompense for my labor of planning and superintendence, interest and profit on capital invested, etc., which he religiously believes to be only fair and just. But he is perfectly satisfied, because he is permitted freely to enjoy his divine fetich.

ANDREW ROONEY.

A New Name for Seditiousness.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I have been visited by a man who said he was a post-office inspector. He had in his hand an envelope mailed by me, with two of my stickers on it in the words: "How much harm do you know government to do?" "Because government uses the thug's methods, it is naturally apt to be controlled by thugs"; and he wanted to inform me that the thing was unmailable because of bearing a scurrilous inscription, and that I was likely to get myself into trouble. The envelope in question, which I had mailed three months earlier, had never been delivered; nor had I been notified that mail from me was being held up, nor, I think, had the addressee. I got the inspector to acknowledge that at least one of the two stickers was not scurrilous; he did not seem to have thought of this fact till I called his attention to it.

I have not yet investigated the legal interpretation of "scurrilous," but I think it might be as conveniently indefinite a charge for prosecution as "obscene." On the basis of the dictionaries, I am not much afraid that any of my stickers could be made out "scurrilous" in court; but the post-office has a characteristic way of proceeding without a trial by simply omitting to forward the mail that it regards as unlawful, and then the man who isn't served gets no great comfort from the fact that the law is on his side. Therefore I write to warn the public. I think that about two-thirds of my stickers—in the main the longer ones—give no possible color for a charge of scurrility, and therefore can safely be put on the outside of mail. And I wouldn't exaggerate the danger with any of them.

Any one who has ordered stickers or leaflets from me and failed to receive them will please send me a complaint; it is possible that the post-office may have burnt such packages because of stickers pasted on them.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

The "Progressive Stage."

To the Editor of Liberty:

Referring to the article in the June number of your paper, I think it is of importance to explain some errors conveyed in same.

The organization does not intend to commence its production before the coming fall, but it will be necessary to build up the membership and arouse a sufficient amount of interest among the proletariat of New York during the summer months, so that, when we produce a drama in the fall, the people will know about the movement.

We have recently held one public meeting for the purpose of getting members, but all further work has been postponed until fall; although during the summer we shall prepare for the first production. Perhaps Bjornson's second part of "Beyond Human Power" will be the first play.

I wish you would make a report in your paper in regard to this. If we had not commenced the movement now, the production would not take place in the fall. Although the season seems in the opinion of all to be inauspicious, the first meeting on a *hot* Sunday afternoon was well attended and very enthusiastic.

I shall keep you informed of what progress is made.

JULIUS HOPP.

203 East 114th Str[illegible] York.

An Appeal to Capital.*

Fellow Americans, what do you think of the situation in Colorado? If any one had told you twenty years ago that an American citizen could pursue his honest employ only at the hourly risk of his life, how would you have regarded the proposition? One hundred and thirty years have passed since the home government (we being then a colony) laid a tax on tea. It was not an exhaustive or prohibitive tax, but the land rose against it and swept the forces of that government. Yet it was an honest and not very oppressive government; it was merely mistaken. Now we have a heavier tyranny to confront than was ever laid upon any nation in the history of the civilized world, and we feel it here, in our homes; we see the tokens of it on our streets; we read it between the lines of legislative measures, and—what is worse—we find it influencing conduct in the White House. This is the tyranny of the trust, so-called—not a trust in fact, but a combination of only those capitalists who have been willing to sink their own identity, their own liberties, for what they conceived to be the benefit of the mass, but which has proved thus far to be for the benefit of the professional politician, the promoter, the grafter, and the stock broker.

To the manhood of capital it is time to appeal. Shelter and advance these parasites and oppressors no longer. Wake, and see the truth. You are betrayed; you are led into a fool's paradise; you are made party to outrage and crime. Can you afford this? Have you forgotten that, although you are bankers, railroad presidents, government officials, you are citizens and men? Do you conceive that an industrial system based on the rule of the irresponsible and directed against thrift, intelligence, enterprise, and honesty can survive? Do you imagine that political conditions which arise from the rule of the worst can belong to your gain in safety, liberty, or even place? Do you

* With apologies to the Brooklyn "Eagle."

not see that you are falling into a state more abject than capital has ever known in this land; that you are estranging friendship; that violence and stock-watering are reactionary; that the law you seek for the class—your limited class of the moneyed—will be overthrown by the mass? You promise heaven in your political platforms. With your hands you are paving the road to hell. Twenty-two victims to monopolistic tyranny lie dead in Colorado. Only eight were killed at Lexington. From the killing in that Massachusetts village we date the rise of a nation founded upon human liberty. We shall cement no meaner structure with the blood of the martyrs in Colorado.

E. F. SALTONSTALL.

A Judge With Brains and Courage.

The following is a part of the dissenting opinion (which, the New York "Evening Post" says, "deserves the attention of all friends of the American idea of personal liberty") of Justice Steele, of the supreme court of Colorado, in the case of Charles M. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, to whom a majority of the court refused a writ of *habeas corpus* when he was held as a military prisoner at Telluride by Governor Peabody:

No person who has the slightest claim to respectability should hesitate to approve the action of the governor in enforcing the law, and I am willing to uphold him and to applaud him so long as he keeps within the lines of the constitution. But I am not willing to uphold him when, in my opinion, he breaks down the barriers erected by the people for their protection, nor am I willing to accord to the constitution elastic properties for the purpose of sustaining him, nor to join in the estimation of a precedent which will not apply to other classes or other conditions when another governor undertakes to exercise the same arbitrary power.

I am not willing to concede the power claimed by the governor, and exercised by him, because, in my opinion, such power is not vested in him by the constitution. It follows, of course, that, if the present executive is the sole judge of the conditions which can call into action the military power of the government, and can exercise all means necessary to effectually abate the conditions, and the judicial department cannot inquire into the legality of his acts, the next governor may, by his ukase, exercise the same arbitrary power. If the military authority may deport the miners this year, it can deport the farmers next year.

If a strike, which is not a rebellion, must be so regarded because the governor says it is, then any condition must be regarded as a rebellion, which the governor declares to be such, and if any condition must be regarded as a rebellion because the governor says so, then any county in the state may be declared to be in a state of rebellion, whether a rebellion exists or not, and every citizen subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention at the will and pleasure of the head of the executive department.

We may then, with each succeeding change in the executive branch of the government, have class arrayed against class, and interest against interest, and we shall depend for our liberty, not upon the constitution, but upon the grace and favor of the governor and his military subordinates.

In no other case presented to this court have principles so important and so far-reaching been involved. It was elaborately and ably argued, and the position of counsel was clearly defined, yet the court has evaded the fundamental questions presented, and has based its decision upon theories long ago determined by jurists and statesmen to be illogical and false.

The authority is overwhelming that the position of the governor cannot be sustained; that the power of suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is legislative and not executive; that martial law can only prevail in places where the civil law is overthrown by force, and that it exists only so long as it is necessary to reinstate the courts; that martial law law cannot prevail where the courts are open and exercising their functions; that the judicial department will take notice whether the courts are open or have been overthrown by superior force.

It is entirely probable that the act of the governor in calling to his aid the military arm of the government cannot be questioned, but when it comes to superseding the civil power and exercising military law, to disobeying the writ of *habeas corpus* or other process of the court, to detaining citizens upon suspicion, then the question of whether an insurrection exists is not to be determined by the governor's proclamation.

The court has not construed the constitution; it has ignored it, and the result is that it has made greater inroads on the constitution than it intended, and that not one of the guarantees of personal liberty can now be enforced.

When the court says that, because the governor is the head of the executive department of the State; that, when he takes command of the military forces, he is still at the head of the civil power; and that the section of the bill of rights, which declares "That the military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power," has no other meaning than that the military shall always be under the command of the governor, it is simply annulling that section of the bill of rights.

Moyer may be guilty of the most heinous offenses. It may be that he deserves to linger in prison the remainder of his natural life, but he is entitled to his liberty unless some one in proper form and before a proper tribunal charges him with violation of the law.

When we deny to one, however wicked, a right plainly guaranteed by the constitution, we take that same right from everyone. We can not deny liberty to-day and grant it to-morrow; we can not deny it to those heretofore above suspicion and grant it to those suspected of crime; for the constitution is for all men —"for the favorite at court for the countryman at plow"—at all times and under all circumstances.

If the law is as this court has declared, then our vaunted priceless heritage is a sham and our fathers stood "between their loved homes and the war's desolation" in vain.

If one may be restrained of his liberty without charge being preferred against him, every other guarantee of the constitution may be denied him.

I believe that the constitution has been "unnecessarily assailed and rudely violated" by the head of the executive department, and I further believe that this court has removed the landmarks which our fathers have set, and my duty requires me to withhold my approval.

Responsibility for Vice.

[C. E. S. Wood in "The Pacific Monthly."]

A Seattle man, Herbert Gowell, committed suicide in Portland, Oregon, because he had lost all in the gambling dens of that city. He left a sort of will directing the gamblers to pay his debts, because they were the authors of his ruin. A man named Richardson is suing certain gamblers in Portland under the law permitting him to recover double the amount of his losses.

Such laws as these are responsible for the belief of the Gowells, Richardsons and others that the gamblers are the only ones to blame. The persistent insistence from the pulpit that those who set traps for the weak are the only blameworthy ones, begets such laws. The whole is the result of a false, emotional logic. We feel sympathy for the loser, pity for the weak, and so we fly tooth and nail upon the purveyor of vice, until, in the heat of the onset, all sense of any responsibility in the victim is lost. We teach him that he is a much-to-be-pitied, petted, and protected innocent. The time-honored argument of the gravedigger in "Hamlet" that the water will not come to you to do the drowning, you must go to the water, suggests the truth.

When a man or woman is deprived of all freedom of will and is bound hand and foot and forcibly carried into the haunt of vice, he or she may properly call for protection. But, where the cause of ruin is that the individual is too weak to resist the allurements of vice, any forcible protection of the individual does more harm than good. It begets the belief that the "victim" is the prey of others when in reality he is the victim of himself. It removes from the victim that opprobrium which he should share equally with the tempter. Gambling-house keepers are beyond the pale of good society, and are excluded from fraternal orders; but gamblers are not. The real law, the true law, the force of unwritten public opinion, is obscured. Looking after other people's morals by force of law means a loss of individual freedom and individual sense of responsibility, and it never has produced any good commensurate with the evil it does, and it never will. It violates a fundamental, natural, universal law—freedom of human will. It is precisely of the same character, though differing in degree and purpose, as forbidding the holding of religious meetings not sanctioned by the government.

It is said that the new mayor of Seattle intends by force of law and integrity of purpose to have neither gambling, prostitution, or a "grafting" police. I predict his utter failure. No King Canute will ever stay the tide of human nature.

By some sort of crooked reasoning, people jump at the conclusion that one who does not favor making people good by law, means to let people go to the devil without a word of advice or a helping hand to stay their course. The advice, the reasoning with the young, the control by parents over the young, the helping hand at all times to all men, is exactly what I do believe in, and I would not obscure our responsibility by aiming a law at vice. There will be no vice when there are no vicious, and the vicious must become good by their own wills, not by law.

It is a delusion to think you have destroyed vice because you have built a wall around it. Men and women must be taught to resist evil influences. They must be reasoned with, prayed with, and helped; but you might as well talk of making an arm strong by bandaging it as of making people truly good and strong of character by putting them in a desert or on the other side of the wall from vice.

Let me humbly suggest to the antagonists of vice that, looked at in the long perspective, the reforms which will count are those economic reforms which give to the mass a less hopeless struggle for existence and happiness.

Russia Out-Russiaed.

[London Saturday Review.]

Colorado is spoken of in a popular criticism of its latest outrage as a place "on the confines of civilization." Is it so near? The dynamite explosion reported from Independence is a barbarous advance even on the lynching horrors which have made Colorado infamous. Some persons unknown, with the help of dynamite, a pistol, and some wire, successfully blew up the whole station at the moment when it was packed with non-union workmen on the way home. We have not heard that any of the murderers have been caught or punished, and such is the humanitarian advancement of the State that capital punishment is abolished. Instead, union workmen, apparently without any legal inquiry into the question of their guilt, are being deported, with the alternative of hanging, which is an illegal punishment. Supposing such an outrage were to be reported from Russia, how acute would be the spasms of horror at the "semi-eastern barbarity."

Social Purity.

[Kate Waller Barrett in "Homecraft and National Club Woman's Review."]

Almost every State and city are taking up social purity; a wave of moral reform is sweeping over the country.

It seems to be agreed that the chief of police is the only student of sociology who knows how to deal with this class of weak and dangerous citizens.

Occasionally a mayor of a city is found who speaks up boldly about crushing the evil, and who tries to reform things; but, in the majority of cases, this class is left to the men who do not know how to handle them. With the world full of great scientists, ministers, philanthropists, and women's clubs, it is a shame to throw the solution of this great evil back on the police every time.

Something should be done to prevent young girls entering into these dens. The most dangerous age for these girls is between fifteen and nineteen years. If a girl could be protected until she is nineteen, and taught some work so that she might be self-

supporting, she would rarely fall into these haunts.

Don't you know, it is easier to meet bad people than good. If I stood at three o'clock in the morning in a strange city in a pouring rain and had no friends, which class would give me welcome? If I should go into the residence portion and ring the bell and some woman should stick her head out of the window and I should ask her where I could go, having no friends or references, she would send me to someone else to get rid of me. If I went into the bad district and knocked at the door, it would be: "Hello! Where did you come from? No place to stay? Why, you can stay right here; you must be cold and hungry—have a drink?" That is the warm-heartedness of the weak. This is why so many young girls coming into a strange city from the country do not go to the Y. W. C. A.'s and the churches. They find them cold and heartless.

The Supreme Court Unconstitutional.

The United States supreme court often decides that laws made by legislatures are unconstitutional, but here is a case in which a decision of the majority of that body is declared, by another member of the court, and in unequivocal terms, to be itself unconstitutional. The case was the appeal of two Philippine editors from a decision of a Manila court which convicted them of libel without trial by jury, the decision of the trial judge being sustained by the supreme court. Justice Harlan, however, wrote a dissenting opinion, in which occurs the following impeachment of his associates:

The guarantees for the protection of life, liberty, and property embodied in the constitution were for the benefit of all, of whatever race or nativity, either in the States composing the union or in any territory, however acquired, over which and for the independence of which the United States may exercise the power conferred upon it by the constitution. The conclusion reached by the court is so obviously forbidden by the constitution that I cannot regard the judgment of the court otherwise than as an amendment to the constitution by judicial action, when another mode of amendment is expressly provided for in that instrument.

An Isolated Protest.

[London Saturday Review.]

General Bobrikoff, the governor-general of Finland, was assassinated on Wednesday. The assassin seems to have been the son of a senator. With the fourth chamber of the revolver he shot himself dead. There can be no doubt this was a political murder. Apart from the moral brutality of crimes of this nature, they are very bad policy. The Finns now can only expect even more rigorous treatment than they have received lately. People who resort to murder as a political weapon must take the consequences, entirely irrespective of the nature of their cause. If they suffer severely, they are not entitled to sympathy. We notice that a portion of the English press, which was and is the most indignant at Irish political crime, is doing its best to excuse this murder. If the victim is a Russian, apparently even assassination can be tolerated.

Our Brilliant Boards of Health.

[L'Aurore.]

We have already heard that kissing is a great disseminator of microbes. The scientists, who are the destroyers of ideals, tell us that, when two souls are mingled on human lips, they run the risk of exchanging all sorts of unhealthy things, since the mouth of the mammiferous male of the order of primates, who is called the lord of creation, contains numberless bacilli, among others that of tuberculosis.

But some have taken warning. The town of Neenah, Wisconsin, has taken energetic measures for protection. The board of health has just passed an ordinance against kissing. Every person found kissing in the street or in a public place will be punished by a fine of two dollars, which will be doubled for the second offense.

This is a great thing, and all economical people will doubtless respect the ordinance of the board of health. But it is to be feared that they indulge in private and that the microbes lose nothing by it.

A Sapient Jurist.

[Pittsburg Kansan.]

The attorney-general of Kansas has handed down an opinion to the effect that those Colorado miners should be forced to work in the Kansas harvest fields from sunup to sundown for one season; that then they would be glad to be good and go back to their jobs in the mines. The attorney-general of Kansas is certainly a great man. This is one of the ablest opinions that he has ever delivered. It shows that he is a great lawyer among harvest hands and a sort of harvest hand among lawyers.

We All Know Why, However.

[Springfield Republican.]

Our president, who is such a roaring lion in contemplating revolution in South America, becomes as quiet as a little lamb in the presence of revolution within his own country. It is the one amusing feature of the Colorado case.

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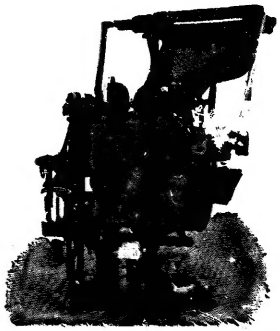

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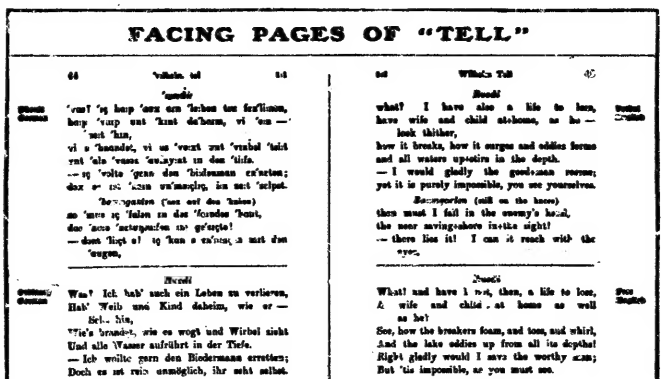
The issuance of the three volumes last mentioned will depend somewhat on the number of the advance orders received for them. Other Series are contemplated, as of Anglo-Saxon, Chinese, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Russian, Sanskrit, and Spanish Texts for English Readers; as well as Series for other than English readers, as French Texts for German Readers and English Texts for French Readers.

John Locke:
"And to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself if he please with the English Translation. Nor let the Objection that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well consider'd, is not of any Moment against, but plainly for this Way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learned by rote."

Edmond Domolins:
"In short, the only practical and rapid way of learning a language is to store in the memory as many words and phrases as possible. By the time a pupil has read and understood — which is easy with a translation — twelve or fifteen volumes of Latin, he knows Latin."

FACING PAGES OF "TELL"



The Study of Modern Languages in Boston, Mass.

(From *Le Maître Phonétique* for March, 1901)

The publication of the Ideophonic Texts for Acquiring Languages . . . shows a zeal at once rare and determined in the teaching of languages by the phonetic method. On the two facing pages appear four parallel texts of the subject-matter: a phonic foreign text, an ordinary foreign text, a word-for-word rendering of the text, and a free rendering of the text. The sounds of any language are taught by means of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Students of phonetic systems are to be congratulated that the editor has not followed the usual custom of inventing a new system which they have to practice on before really starting in.

October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in curves* ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j(c)	g(k) ɑ(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(m̥)	n(n̥)	ɲ(ɲ̊)	ŋ(ŋ̊)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l̥)	ʎ(ʎ̊)	ʟ(ʟ̥)		
Trilled		r(r̥)			ʀ(ʀ̥)	ʜ ʕ
So close as to produce friction	ʋ(ɾ) v(f)	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ð(θ) ɹ(ɻ)		ɣ(x)		β(ɸ) (h)
	Rounded		ɥ(ɧ)	w(ʍ)		
			ɻ(ʂ)	ʁ(χ)		
Very close	Rounded		y ʉ	u		
			i ɨ	ɯ		
Close	Rounded		ʏ	ʊ		
			ɪ	ɯ̽		
Half close	Rounded		ø ɵ	o		
			e ə	ɤ		
Half open	Rounded		œ	ɔ		
			ɛ	ʌ		
Open			æ ɶ	ɑ		
Very open			a ɑ			

ː denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*
ˑ denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively *loud*.
‿ denotes that the sound under it is *nasal*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
ˊ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *rises*.
ˋ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *falls*.

Henry Sweet:
"Phonetics is almost as old as civilization itself . . . It is the unphonetic, not the phonetic methods that are an innovation."

Paul Passy:
"I was disagreeably surprised to observe that in American schools, as almost everywhere in France, they make use, from the very start, of the German characters, so embarrassing to beginners, and which there is every advantage in not taking up till later on."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler:
"Words are not words without context, motive, and life."

For WHAT
Remarkable

For Its Fundamental Principle
that languages are to be learned quite as much by Practice as by Theory: that *ideas* and *sounds*, to become sufficiently *associated* in the mind, must actually be *present* in the mind — in the right combinations — *over*, and *over*, and *over again*.

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the Universal Alphabet of "*Le Maître Phonétique*," a journal circulated in 35 different countries. This alphabet has already been applied to about 200 languages and dialects, and bids fair to come into world-wide popular use. *After one language has been learned by it, other languages are much easier to learn.*

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always in sight, three of them corresponding, *line for line*, and *word for word*: thus securing *perfect ease of reference*. Each text is, however, *distinct* from the others: thus enabling the student to pin his attention exclusively and continuously on any one of them he may choose.

For Its Phonic German Text
giving the *exact pronunciation and stress* of each word as spoken *in the particular context in which it occurs*. Pronunciations as commonly given in text-books, grammars and dictionaries, are not only few in number and inexact, but arbitrary: *fitted to no particular context*.

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corresponding *line for line* and *word for word* with the phonic German text, and printed in large, clear roman type.

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a word-for-word rendering, corresponding *line for line* with the ordinary German and phonic German texts: enabling the student or instructor to find at a glance *the literal meaning of each word in the particular context in which it occurs*.

For Its Free English Text
giving *the general idea and spirit* of the German, and often a literal rendering of the lines.

For WHOM
Designed

For All Students of German,
whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously guided and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect*.

For All Teachers of German
(*whether teaching "Tell" or not*) who know that German can be acquired only by covering *an enormous amount of ground*; and who know, therefore, that their duty is to furnish their pupils with the most refined and powerful instruments for self-instruction which can be obtained. If not adopted as a regular text-book, this volume may be used as a *supplementary* text.

For All Students whose Pronunciation is Bad:
and the pronunciation of English-speaking students *is apt to be very bad*.

For All Teachers who are Uncertain as to Pronunciation
or rendering, or who have a local or imperfect pronunciation, and *who want standard guides*, such as the phonic text and the word-for-word rendering *for their own use* at home or in the class.

For All Students who Read Aloud:
and should students not read aloud more or less: in class and out?

For All Teachers of German Phonology
who now confine their teaching to mere elementary theory, for lack of *accurate and practical texts* on which to set students to work finding things out for themselves.

For All Students of General Phonetics and Philology,
who are interested in the structure of the German language.

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